

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T STATE 240868

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, EEC

SUBJECT: JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN TRILATERAL DECLARATION  
OF PRINCIPLES

US NATO ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

1. JAPANESE POLITICAL COUNSELOR MURATA CALLED ON JAPAN  
COUNTRY DIRECTOR DECEMBER 6 TO REPORT DECEMBER 5 CONVERSA-  
TION BETWEEN VICE MINISTER HOGEN AND DANISH AND GERMAN  
AMBA SADOWS TOKYO, AT WHICH HOGEN HAD CONVEYED JAPANESE  
RESPONSE TO EC PROPOSAL OF NOVEMBER 15 FOR EC/JAPAN  
BILATERAL DECLARATION.

2. MURATA SAID HOGEN HAD ORALLY CONVEYED JAPANESE  
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POSITION ESSENTIALLY AS DESCRIBED REFTEL, AND HAD LATER  
SENT DANISH AMBASSADOR PAPER TO ENSURE NO MISUNDERSTANDING  
OF JAPANESE POSITION. TEXT OF JAPANESE PAPER FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: IT IS INDEED OUR STRONG WISH TO HAVE AN EVER CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPE. PRIME MINISTER TANAKA'S RECENT VISIT TO EUROPE CLEARLY UNDERLINED THIS ATTITUDE ON OUR PART. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE MOMENTUM THUS CREATED, WE WISH TO PROMOTE FURTHER THE CONTACTS WITH EUROPE ON ALL PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. WE CERTAINLY APPRECIATE THE APPROACH MADE BY THE DANISH EMBASSY IN THE NAME OF THE NINE ON THE POSSIBILITY OF WORKING OUT A BILATERAL JAPAN-EC DECLARATION. WE HIGHLY VALUE THE INTEREST OF THE NINE, REFLECTED IN THIS APPROACH, IN STRENGTHENING THEIR TIES WITH JAPAN.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MAINTAIN OUR BASIC POSITION THAT IT IS PREFERABLE TO HAVE A TRILATERAL DECLARATION AMONG JAPAN, EUROPE AND THE U.S. AS A GUIDELINE FOR CLOSER COOPERATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES. THE DRAFT DECLARATION ADOPTED AT THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE OF SEPTEMBER 10 AND 11, 1973, SHOWS STRIKING SIMILARITIES IN BROAD SUBSTANCE TO THE JAPANESE DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON COOPERATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES, OF WHICH THE OUTLINE HAS BEEN MADE KNOWN TO YOU. IT CLEARLY SHOWS THAT EUROPE, THE U.S. AND JAPAN HAVE MANY PROBLEMS IN COMMON AS INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES. WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT THE REASONS WHY JAPAN MAINTAINS ITS BASIC POSITION CAN BE APPRECIATED BY THE NINE.

SINCE TALKS ARE ACTIVELY UNDERWAY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EUROPE ON THE FORMULATION OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WE WOULD RATHER LIKE TO WATCH CLOSELY HOW PROGRESS WILL BE MADE IN THESE TALKS. IN THE MEANTIME, WE WISH TO GIVE A SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THE APPROACH MADE BY THE NINE AND TO INDICATE OUR DEFINITIVE POSITION THEREON AT A LATER STAGE. END TEXT

3. AT END OF HOGEN'S PRESENTATION, DANISH AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED THANKS, REMARKED THAT EC "OVERTURE HAD BEEN INVITATION TO THE DANCE", AND PROMISED CONVEY JAPANESE SECRET

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POSITION TO NINE. GERMAN AMBASSADOR, WHO PRESENT BECAUSE GERMANS WILL CHAIR NINE NEXT YEAR, REFERRED TO LAST SENTENCE OF HOGEN'S PRESENTATION AND, AFTER REMARKING THAT IN GERMAN VIEW OUTCOME OF US/EC NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CLEAR BY MID-DECEMBER, ASKED HOGEN EVU WHETHER JAPANESE INTENDED TO APPROACH NINE AT THAT TIME. HOGEN EVADED DIRECT RESPONSE, BUT SAID THAT WHILE JAPAN PREFERS TRILATERAL ARRANGEMENT; IT HAS MANY REASONS OF ITS OWN FOR TAKING THIS POSITION. GERMAN AMBASSADOR THEN ASKED WHETHER, IF TRILATERAL DECLARATION WERE POSSIBLE, JAPAN WOULD EXCLUDE EC/JAPAN BILATERAL. HOGEN GAVE NON-COMMITAL RESPONSE TO EFFECT THAT SINCE THERE NO TIME LIMIT ON JAPANESE, JAPAN WOULD STUDY THIS POSSI-

BILITY.

4. MURATA ALSO REPORTED THAT AMBASSADOR NAKAYAMA IN PARIS HAS DISCUSSED JAPANESE RESPONSE WITH QUAI POLITICAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR PUAUX. LATTER HAD REMARKED THAT JAPANESE POSITION SEEM WELL-BALANCED, AND COMMENTED THAT HE COULD APPRECIATE FACT THAT JAPAN MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SPECIAL ASPECT OF US/JAPAN RELATIONS. HE HAD ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT POSITION OF NINE ON TRILATERAL WOULD NEVER CHANGE. EC PROPOSAL HAD NOT MERELY BEEN INTENDED TO SOUND OUT JAPANESE POSITION; EC AIM IS TO ESTABLISH ITS OWN IDENTITY.

5. IN ANOTHER SIDELIGHT ON EUROPEAN ATTITUDES, MURATA SAID DANISH AMBASSADOR TOKYO HAD EARLIER INFORMED DIRGEN AMERICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU OKAWARA THAT SINCE THEY OCCUPIED EC CHAIR, DANES MUST MAINTAIN POSITION OF NINE, BUT THAT IN THEIR HEARTS SMALLER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (HE CITED DENMARK, BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS) REALLY WANTED SOME FORM OF TRILATERAL DECLARATION. HOWEVER, DANISH VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD JAPANESE AMBASSADOR THAT THIS WAS NOT TRUE AND THAT DENMARK SUPPORTS EC POSITION.

5. COMMENT: AS THEY HAD INDICATED WOULD BE THE CASE, JAPANESE DID NOT FLATLY REJECT EC PROPOSAL. SECOND PARAGRAPH OF THEIR RESPONSE, HOWEVER, IS SLIGHTLY MORE POSITIVE ON TRILATERAL THAN THEY HAD INDICATED IT  
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MIGHT BE. GIVEN JAPANESE STYLE, THEIR RESPONSE READS AS CLEAR PREFERENCE FOR TRILATERAL WITHOUT, FOR DIPLOMATIC AS WELL AS TACTICAL REASONS, COMPLETELY FORECLOSING POSSIBILITY OF SOME OTHER ARRANGEMENT. RUSH

SECRET

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**TAGS:** PEPR, US, JA, EEC  
**To:** TOKYO INFO LONDON  
BONN  
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ROME

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